

a commitment to balance the budget by 2002.

Briefly, most of America knows that for a long, long time, a man or a woman's word was their bond. Well, my grandfather bought cattle and bought grain. His word was his bond. He would return some day later and pay cash for it. When my father purchased farm equipment, his word was his bond. My father-in-law taught me many lessons about honest and integrity. His word was his bond.

Yet we have just recently signed a agreement on November 20, 1995. The President signed a continuing resolution that said this:

The President and the Congress shall enact legislation in the first session of the 104th Congress to achieve a balanced budget not later than fiscal year 2002.

Now, the first session of the 104th Congress ends on December 31, so we do not have a whole lot of time to do this.

Mr. SCARBOROUGH. Does it say Congress and the President "shall" or "may"?

Mr. TIAHRT. It says the President and the Congress shall.

Mr. SCARBOROUGH. So it is required by law. The President is required by law.

Mr. TIAHRT. Required by law to enact legislation to balance the budget by fiscal year 2002.

I want to quote something that was reported on the Fox Morning News on November 28. It was in the White House Bulletin on November 28 and in the Associated Press on November 28. This is quoting White House Secretary Mike McCurry when he was asked whether the White House would prefer to put off the larger budget debate until after next year's election and operate the Government on a continuing resolution, and here is what he said. "There are big differences between the President and Congress." That is a true statement.

He continues by saying, "and I suspect that those kinds of issues will have to be settled in November 1996. But, in the meantime, we can avert the crisis, avert the shutdown, get on with the orderly business and have our debate next year during the national election campaigns when we should, as Americans, have that kind of debate."

I would put to Mr. McCurry and the American public that this was a signed agreement. This is not something that is debatable. This has the power of law.

Mr. SCARBOROUGH. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, the next day Presidential Spokesman McCurry said, "I think they will get a compromise that everyone will agree needs to really be a placeholder until we have a national election. Pragmatically, that is what is going to happen anyhow."

So the gentleman is correct. It astounds me that this White House can waffle the way it does. Remember Leon Panetta saying the day after they signed this law, "The President and Congress shall by law enact a balanced

budget to save future generations in 7 years." The day after, 24 hours after that, Leon Panetta had the audacity to go on national TV, being smug, and say, "Well, maybe 7, maybe 8; we really do not know."

Now, this is the same Leon Panetta that said, Congress is holding a gun to the President's head. He called us terrorists right after the terrorist attack in Israel.

□ 1630

This is the same Leon Panetta who said we were being terrorists for attaching something to the continuing resolution requiring the President to balance the budget. This same Leon Panetta did the same exact thing when he was sitting on that side of the aisle in this House of Representatives and did it to two different Republican administrations.

These people feel so free to use the English language any way they want to use it to try to get around the fact that we must balance the budget for the sake of our children. And they think they are cute playing these semantics games.

Well, we are \$5 trillion in debt. My children and your children and their children are \$20,000 in debt apiece. My children and your children and their children will spend over \$150,000 in their lifetimes just to service interest on the debt.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Will the gentleman kindly yield?

Mr. SCARBOROUGH. My children, your children and their children are the ones who this Congress has been stealing money from for the past 40 years and the past generation and the time has come to say enough is enough.

I see the gentleman from Hawaii is asking for time. We have to close right now. I will say this, though. I am looking forward to working with the gentleman from Hawaii who yesterday appeared to say that we did not go far enough and we actually needed to find another trillion dollars, and I would welcome the gentleman's help in figuring out a way to get Social Security off budget and find a way for us to go that final step, to find the additional trillion dollars to do what we need to do.

But I have got to tell you this: If we are \$1 trillion short, then the President of the United States is \$1.85 trillion short.

I look forward to working with the gentleman. I certainly look forward to working with the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. DORNAN. Would the gentleman yield for a second?

Mr. SCARBOROUGH. Unfortunately I believe we are out of time.

Mr. DORNAN. I just wanted to say that I am going to do an hour special order later on Bosnia. I will not have to say it now.

Mr. SCARBOROUGH. I thank the gentleman. Unfortunately, we are going to have to wrap this up. I thank

the gentleman from Kansas for helping us out.

I ask Republicans and Democrats alike on both sides of the aisle to dare to make a difference.

Bobby Kennedy, a Democrat, said the future belongs to those who dare to make a difference.

I got a letter from a constituent in Pensacola, FL, thanking Congress for daring to make a difference and going where this Congress has failed to go for the past 40 years.

He said a South African missionary once wrote to David Livingstone, "Have you found a good road to where you are? We want to know how to send some men to join you."

The missionary wrote back, "If you have men who will come only if they know there is a good road, I don't want them. I want those who will come if there is no road."

For 40 years this Congress provided no road to balance the budget. For 40 years this Congress shamelessly stole money from future generations to pay off their political interests, and for 40 years this Congress did not have the guts to do what we have done as middle-class Americans for the past 40 years, and that is to balance our budget and to spend only as much money as we have.

Well, we have made the difference now. I ask people on both sides of the aisle to come forward and dare to make a difference, and stop trying to scare senior citizens. Follow what the Washington Post tells you to do: Save Medicare, balance the budget, pass true welfare reform, and ensure that our future generations will have a lifestyle in America that is even better than our own.

#### THE BUDGET

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. WHITE). Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PALLONE] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I will try not to use the entire 60 minutes, but I do appreciate the opportunity to address my colleagues about the budget.

As I am sure that most of us can tell from listening to the debate on the House floor, the biggest issue right now is the budget which is being negotiated between the President, the White House, and Congress, both the Senate and the House, and over the next couple of weeks or so hopefully decisions will be made so that there can be a compromise worked out between the Republican leadership budget which passed the House and the Senate about a week ago and the priorities that have been articulated by President Clinton and most of the Democrats in Congress.

The chief concern of myself as well as most of the Democrats is the fact that the Republican budget as passed essentially cuts Medicare and Medicaid by

significant amounts in order to provide tax breaks primarily for wealthy Americans. If you look at the chart over here which I have pointed to many times, you can see that the cuts in the Medicare Program, the health care program for seniors, of \$270 billion roughly translate into the tax breaks primarily for wealthy Americans of \$245 billion.

I contend that during this budget negotiation, the only way that we are going to preserve and protect Medicare as well as Medicaid, which is the health care program for low-income Americans, is if we eliminate most if not all of these tax breaks for the wealthy and put that money back into the Medicare or Medicaid Program. Without that happening, and I hope that the budget negotiators accomplish that, but without that happening, it would not be possible in my opinion to preserve the Medicare and Medicaid Program.

The consequence would be that many seniors and many low-income people would not have health care, would not have health insurance, or if they do have it, they would have the quality of that care significantly reduced. This not only impacts seniors and low-income people but also all Americans, because the cuts in Medicare and Medicaid directly impact every hospital in this country, every health care provider. The quality of our hospitals will deteriorate. Many of our hospitals will close because we are taking so much money out of the health care system, because of the dependence of hospitals and health care providers on the Medicare and the Medicaid programs and the Federal dollars that go along with it.

One of the things that I wanted to start out with this evening is to point out that repeatedly the Republican leadership has suggested that these tax breaks that are in the budget bill that they approved would somehow be helpful to all Americans, it would not primarily be for well-to-do Americans. In fact, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ARCHER], who is the chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means, has repeatedly defended the budget bill by saying that there will be benefits for all Americans, proportionately and in a fair way.

Well, the Treasury Department just came out in the past couple of days with an analysis of this Republican budget, and it was put forward or summarized, so to speak, in an editorial a few days ago on November 23 in the New York Times that definitively showed, in my opinion, that the Treasury's analysis is correct and essentially shows that most of the tax breaks go to wealthy Americans.

I just wanted to read briefly, if I could, from the editorial in the New York Times. It says that the Treasury Department estimated that the richest 1 percent would rake in almost twice as much, or 17 percent of the tax breaks. The Treasury figures are solid evidence that the Republican tax cut is heavily weighted toward the rich.

If you look at this analysis on the chart here, it shows the Treasury's version based on the fully phased-in law, and as can be seen, the significant amounts of the tax breaks go to wealthy Americans: 23.8 percent to those that make more than \$200,000; 23.7 percent to those that make between \$100,000 and \$200,000; 19 percent for those who make between \$75,000 and \$100,000; 19 percent again to those who make between \$50,000 and \$75,000; to the point where if you are making less than \$20,000, you actually pay a tax increase under this Republican budget.

I just want to put that to rest, because I know we have heard a lot of discussion and statements on the other side of the aisle suggesting that this is not the case, but it is the case.

One of the reasons why, and again I will go back to the New York Times editorial, one of the reasons why the Republican analysis is wrong and the Treasury Department is correct is because of the Republican distribution tables and the way they distort the bill. The New York Times says that the Republican distribution tables are distorted in at least four ways. I would like to go through those four ways.

First, they underestimate the benefit to wealthy investors of the cut in the tax on capital gains. There is a major cut in capital gains that goes mostly to wealthy Americans.

Second, the Republicans' estimates ignore the distribution of corporate tax cuts which help the wealthy more than the poor. Again, a big part of these tax cuts are for corporations.

Third, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ARCHER], again the Republican chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, his numbers look only at the first 5 years of the tax cut. The Treasury's estimates calculate the benefit when the taxes are fully phased in, so we are looking here at the full phase-in of the taxes over the 7 years of the budget bill.

And, fourth, the figures of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ARCHER] fail to consider the fact that many low-income families will lose rebates they now receive under the earned income tax credit, a subsidy for low-wage workers. Again, the Republican analysis ignores the fact that if you are in this \$20,000 or below, you are getting what we call an earned income tax credit, which means that if that is taken away, which the Republican bill does in significant ways, you are actually going to pay more in taxes than you pay now.

I think that this is important because I honestly believe that the only way, and I will repeat, the only way that we can arrive at a budget bill negotiated between the President and the Republicans in Congress that actually saves Medicare and Medicaid is if we eliminate or at least significantly cut back on these tax breaks for the wealthy. I hope, I sincerely hope, that that is a big part of the budget negotiations, so that we can save Medicare and save Medicaid.

I wanted to next, if I could, move to two reports that came out in the last week that talk about the impact of these Republican budget cuts on Medicare and Medicaid.

The first report was done by the Leadership Council of Aging Organizations. They put out a report this Tuesday, November 28, that essentially identifies nine different ways how the budget hurts older Americans, our senior citizens. I would like to just go through those nine points and then maybe give a little more detail about some of the more important ones.

The nine ways that the budget hurts older Americans, according to the Leadership Council are, first, that Congress cuts Medicare by \$270 billion, and that means that part B premiums rise from \$46.10 to almost \$90 a month by the year 2002. Beneficiaries needing certain hospital outpatient services would pay even more than the 50 percent co-insurance they now pay, and many would lose extended home care coverage.

So not only are we cutting Medicare, but we are also charging our senior citizens more. Part B is the health insurance program that covers their physician's care. The premiums that they pay for part B are doubled over the 7 years of the budget.

Second, Congress cuts Medicaid long-term care. Medicaid spending would be cut by \$164 billion over 7 years. Federal standards for eligibility, services, payment and quality would be seriously weakened. In other words, in order to accomplish this cut in Medicaid, the health insurance program for low-income people, Federal standards would either be eliminated or relaxed.

There would no longer be an entitlement to Medicaid. It would be up to the States, because the money from the Federal Government, a reduced amount of money in real terms, would go in a block grant to the States and they would decide who they would cover and how. So a lot of low-income people, whether they be children, senior citizens, disabled, would simply not be covered by Medicaid any longer because the States would not have the money to pay for their care. That includes seniors.

Third, Congress cuts Medicaid acute care. So current Federal requirements to pay Medicare deductibles and co-insurance for low-income Medicare beneficiaries would be ended.

What that means is that right now if you are a senior citizen, instead of paying your premium for your part B Medicare which covers your physician's care, right now if you are below a certain income, Medicaid pays that premium.

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However, under the Republican bill, Medicaid would no longer be required to pay that premium. Again, it would be up to the States, and if the States decided they did not want to pay, then Medicare part B premium for low-income seniors, they would not have to,

and a lot of those seniors would go without having part B and having their physicians' bills covered by Medicare or Medicaid.

Fourth, under human services, the Older Americans Act, Legal Services, aging research, training senior volunteers, cuts would mean 6.2 million fewer meals at senior centers, 5.6 million fewer to homebound elders, research on aging issues funded under the Older Americans Act. Right now, a lot of the programs that exist and that help senior citizens are funded under the Older Americans Act. Those of you who have been to a senior center in your community know a lot of times meals are provided to seniors at the senior center, nutrition programs, or if they are homebound, meals are delivered to them in their home. There are other services the Older Americans Act provides for senior citizens.

That takes a huge cut in this budget and can be translated into fewer meals and fewer services for the elderly.

Fifth, during the last decade the number of grandparents raising grandchildren climbed 40 percent, and most have household incomes under \$20,000 per year. Reforms in the welfare system will make it more difficult to obtain aid for grandchildren.

So incorporated in all of this is the fact, and in this budget, is the fact that a lot of children who are now raised by their grandparents will not get assistance to pay for various activities that are important to child care.

Sixth, food stamps; block grants offer no assurance even minimal protections for older people would be retained by States by making access to benefits still more difficult. A lot of senior citizens depend on food stamps. The cutbacks in that will affect them.

Seventh, supplemental security income, individual States may slash or eliminate SSI supplementary benefits. Again, a lot of senior citizens who are disabled and who receive cash benefits pursuant to social security disability programs would be cut.

Eighth, housing assistance, older people make up approximately one-third of all public housing residents. Operating subsidies and modernization funds for public housing would be cut by 3.5 and 33 percent, respectively, from 1995 levels. When we talk about public housing, a lot of people forget a third of the public housing is for senior citizens. If you cut back on money available for new construction, modernization, they are also impacted and, again, have fewer and fewer places to live or more expensive costs to continue to rent or to live in subsidized housing.

And lastly and ninth on this list is low-income home energy assistance programs. The Senate recommendation is for a 32-percent cut. Nearly 2 million households could lose their energy assistance. A lot of senior citizens right now basically have their energy assistance, their utility bills, if you will, supplemented through what we call this LIHEAP program. That also is cut.

So our point and the point I am trying to make here is that not only with regard to Medicare and Medicaid but also with a lot of other programs, the impact on senior citizens in this budget is really great. They are disproportionately singled out for cuts that will make it much more difficult for them to have health care, for them to have proper nutrition, for them to be able to live in decent housing, and that is not fair.

What we are doing is making those cuts in order to provide tax breaks primarily for wealthy Americans.

The other report that came out this week and that I would like to briefly mention was a report that was put out by the Consumers Union and the National Senior Citizen Law Center. It is entitled "What the Congress Isn't Telling You." Families of nursing home residents may face financial ruin under Federal Medicaid bills. And basically, what the report shows is that, under the Republican budget, an estimated 395,000 nursing home patients are likely to lose Medicaid payments for their care next year. Families of nursing home patients will face significant new financial burdens.

This was actually put out; this is the report here that was put out within the last week or so, and again trying to highlight some of the people that the report makes, again it talks about the impact of the cuts in the Medicaid program which, again, is for low-income people, but affects seniors, children, disabled people. Basically, what they stress is that the budget transforms the Medicaid Program into a block grant called a Medigrant, a cash grant to each State, and there are few requirements as to how the money is spent, virtually no guarantees for benefits for any individual regardless of how poor or sick the individual is. Cuts in the Medicaid Program are \$163 billion, and these cuts will reduce projected Federal spending on Medicaid by approximately 30 percent by the time the seventh year of the 7-year program goes into effect.

What the Republican budget does is it caps the amount of money that is spent on Medicaid, and it basically sends a block grant to the States with that smaller amount of money than is necessary to keep the Medicaid going as a viable program.

So what we are saying is that because of that reduced level of funding and because the States now have to administer Medicaid with less funding, millions of current Medicaid recipients and those needing services in the future are likely to lose all access to health insurance and not have their health care provided for.

Now, this report basically says that an estimated 395,000 long-term patients are likely to lose Medicaid payments for their nursing home care if this bill is approved. The combination of drastic cuts and projected spending and elimination of important patient and family protections will cause State Medicaid

programs and private nursing homes to adopt policies that will place additional financial pressures on families of people needing long-term care.

Right now, Medicaid pays for the nursing home care for all of these low-income people that are on Medicaid. But if this bill passes, not only will the same amount of money not be available, but what the States will do, because they do not have enough money to pay out to nursing homes for these patients' care, is they will simply go after the families, the children, the grandchildren, whatever, and the assets, if you will, of those nursing home patients in order to make up the difference.

Just to give you an idea of the type of things that will go on, if the Medicaid law is changed, basically families of nursing home patients may be forced to spend funds previously earmarked for their children's education or retirement. Family assets may be sold or even seized by Medicaid liens. Adult children, previously protected from liability, may now be held responsible for the nursing home bills of their patients. Protections against nursing homes that charge more than the amount Medicaid pays are weakened by the bill. Right now it is difficult for the nursing home to charge you more than what Medicaid pays. Families become vulnerable; there is no longer a guarantee of Medicaid eligibility for anyone. Liens on property and claims against the States are unrestricted under the proposed legislation. Hearings to dispute issues, such as who receives coverage, are completely eliminated. Financial planning for disabled children is no longer protected. States may even narrow coverage to exclude chronic nursing home care from their programs, and the limited income protections included in the bill for husbands and wives do not provide financial security for families.

What we are basically saying here, and it is very clear, and this is what this study demonstrates, that the proposed transformation of Medicaid may force American families into financial ruin if a loved one needs a nursing home. It is a major change from the current law which provides, which basically says Medicaid right now guarantees nursing home coverage for those low-income seniors or any senior who runs out of money and does not have enough money to pay for their nursing home care. I am not sure if a lot of people realize that there are very few Americans who, if they become disabled and have to go to a nursing home, can afford to pay for that nursing home care for very long. Sometimes people can pay privately for a few months or even a couple of years, but eventually they run out of assets. That is where Medicaid comes in and pays for the care under current law, but would no longer be guaranteed under this Republican budget.

I talked mostly so far about the impact of this budget on health care, and

I believe that that is the worst impact of this Republican budget, the fact that our health care system, in general, will be negatively impacted and a lot of people will not receive health care or have access to health care and the quality of care will also be reduced.

But there are other major impacts and other major impacts that President Clinton has specifically talked about. He has talked also about the need to make sure there is adequate funding for education, particularly student loans, and he has also talked about the need to prioritize funding for the environment. Because if you look at this budget, this Republican budget, as well as some of the appropriation bills that have been moving through the House of Representatives, you certainly notice that, again, like with senior citizens, the environment and the effort to protect the environment has taken too much of a cut in this overall budget bill. In other words, the amount of money that is taken away from those agencies on a Federal level that protect the environment or the money that goes to the States in grants and loans to protect the environment is cut back considerably more than a lot of other areas. Again, that is not fair, and that is totally inconsistent with the priority that most Americans give to environmental protection.

Just to give you an idea of how this budget, not only the budget but also some of the appropriation bills that have been moving in this House, would impact the environment, again, a report was recently put out by the National Wildlife Federation that is entitled "Funding Worth Fighting For: Your Guide to Proposed Reductions for Environmental Spending in Congress' Budget and Appropriation Bills." Again, this was produced and made available within the last couple of weeks or so.

Essentially, it points out how this budget and how the appropriation bills make drastic cuts in environment protection. It is a very sinister aspect of this whole budget process because I think that many people in the beginning did not realize that the Republican leadership was trying to make such drastic changes in environmental protection. And so in putting together this report, the National Wildlife Federation, I think, did a very good job in explaining how these cutbacks affect the quality of our environment in this country.

Basically, in its introduction, the report says that the congressional leadership intends to achieve its aims to weaken, dismantle, or dismiss environmental safeguards through the budget process. The tactic is to legislate through appropriations, to tear away at the enforcement and fabric of environmental laws in the budget process without the scrutiny of public debate and the straight votes on the merits. Oftentimes these things are put into the bills, and we are not necessarily made aware of it. There have not been

public hearings. There has not been an opportunity to even comment on it, which is one of the reasons, I think, this report takes note of these changes.

The budget and appropriation bills passed to date by Congress contain a regressive environmental and natural resource agenda that has no precedent in modern American history. If enacted, these measures will mark the first time the Nation has legislated a retreat in water and air quality, in conserving valuable wetlands, protecting beaches from being fouled by contamination and enforcing environmental protections for public health.

In effect, this Republican leadership is proposing lower environmental quality of life for the average American as well as huge public land and asset giveaways to narrow special interests.

As documented in this report, the hallmarks of this assault, and they basically say four areas where this budget assaults, if you will, the environment: One, sharp cuts to the core budgets of the agencies that protect the environment; two, elimination, in some cases, of entire environmental programs; third, suspension of environmental safeguards; and, last, expansive concessions to narrow interest groups.

Now, I say this in the overall context of knowing, not only because I talk to people in my own district but also because of public opinion surveys that have been done, that show that Americans are very supportive of environmental protection and seek to prioritize funding for environmental protection and not have these kinds of cutbacks. I think the solid majority of Americans support upholding the environmental progress that we have seen in the last 10 or 20 years in this country and do not want to see us turn back the clock as is being proposed by the Republican leadership in this budget and these appropriation bills.

I just want to summarize, if I could, because again I do not want to use all the time allotted to me, but I do want to summarize, if I could, some of the major provisions, some of the major changes that the National Wildlife Federation in its report points out are occurring or will occur if this Republican budget is passed, if these Republican appropriation bills are passed.

Congress' fiscal year budget bill that we have talked about and the five appropriation bills discussed in this report contain changes in environmental, public lands, wildlife, and natural resources policy that would do the following, and let me just list some of these: First, it would open the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil and gas drilling. Many are not aware that in Alaska the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge now is a very pristine area where oil and gas drilling is not allowed. This would allow it to occur.

Second, the budget and appropriations would trigger sale of public lands under an industry-sponsored rewrite of the 1872 mining law. Essentially, what we are doing is giving away a lot of our

public lands. It would also end the EPA's enforcement of wetlands law, very important in my home State of New Jersey. We have a lot of area that needs to be protected, a lot of wetlands that could be the subject of development, and right now the EPA provides a certain amount of protection for those wetlands.

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That would be eliminated under this budget and under these appropriations bills.

It would also slash national wetlands inventory funding by 48 percent, reduce wetlands habitat conservation funds by 24 percent, and cut endangered species funding. Right now we have a very good endangered species protection program. This would cut out a lot of the funding for that protection. It would also suspend new listing for imperiled species and terminate endangered marine species research.

It would slash funds for stabilizing world population by 38 percent. The United States contributes through international organizations in efforts to basically support family planning around the world, in many parts of the world. That is also slashed by a third under this budget.

The Republicans would also reduce the Superfund budget by \$400 million. We have in the United States and at the Federal level now a program that seeks to clean up the most seriously polluted hazardous waste sites pursuant to what is called the Superfund Program. The program has been successful in starting and in many cases actually completing the cleanup of many of these hazardous waste sites around the country. That budget would be reduced by \$400 million under this proposal. It also stops new cleanups at hazardous waste sites, so if you are not already a Superfund site, the site cannot be added to the Superfund list for possible cleanup.

It increases timber cuts in the Tongass National Forest. It cuts funding for drinking water and wastewater treatment. In my own area, I represent a good part of the New Jersey shore. We have made great progress in cleaning up our water, basically because of grants and loans from the Federal Government to upgrade sewage treatment plants. These are severely slashed under this budget proposal.

It also cuts enforcement for strip mining law by 28 percent. It cuts funds for international environmental programs by 32 percent. It allows agribusiness to avoid \$117 million in repayment obligations in unbudgeted new Army Corps of Engineers construction projects, and cuts global climate change research funds.

Those of you who have been reading the newspapers in the last few weeks have noticed, I am sure, there has been a lot of information that has come out about how global climate changes are having negative impact on the environment around the world. We have contributed over the years to research on

an international basis to try to study the problems related to global climate change. Again, that is cut significantly by this budget bill and by some of the appropriations.

The list goes on and on. I do not want to continue going through it tonight. I think it is important over the next few weeks, as the negotiations take place between President Clinton and the Congress over where this budget bill is going and how a compromise is going to be achieved, that we continued to prioritize environmental protection, that we do what is necessary to make sure that Medicare and Medicaid are good programs and continue to serve our senior citizens and our low income people, because ultimately, I believe that if environmental protection is significantly degraded or if our health care system is significantly impacted in a way that the quality suffers or a lot more people are no longer eligible for health insurance, that ultimately, if any of those things happen, it is going to impact every American, and it is going to impact the quality of life for every American.

So I think we need to continue to speak out to say that it is very important that money be put back in the budget for those health care programs, for environmental protection, and the easiest way to do that is to eliminate these tax breaks for wealthy Americans.

#### U.S. MILITARY POLICIES

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. WHITE). Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, I said last night that I would come back with some other freshmen Members. Some of them are in their offices watching, so they may join me in this continuing special order on Bosnia. But I was not here during the Vietnam years. I came right after our Bicentennial election in 1976, and I remember my campaign consultant, he now is principally doing the best polling I have ever seen in the country, although he concentrates mainly on California. His name is Arnie Steinberg. That is his company name, Arnie Steinberg & Associates. He knew how deeply I felt about the loss of Laos, Cambodia, and the southern part of Vietnam south of the 17th parallel to vicious Communist conquerors. And he said to me, "I will consult in your campaign, if you will promise me that in this entire year of 1976, you will not mention Vietnam."

I looked at him. I knew instantly what he meant, that Americans were exhausted and did not want to hear any longer about the tragic fate of people who wanted freedom so desperately in Southeast Asia. I made the promise to him, I would go through the whole campaign without mentioning Vietnam, and I did.

I got elected in November of 1976, and within weeks, days, a House select committee voted to shut down their investigation as to whether or not Americans were alive in Indochina. Americans were alive in Indochina. We had left them behind in Laos, and there was a good case there were some left in the north, because we had an ex-Marine CIA agent who had been captured in Saigon when it fell to Communist armored units on April 30, 1975, named Tucker Guggelman, and he was beaten to death, tortured to death, over many weeks in the Saigon prison system. His screams were heard by other people that were later released, and he was alive when this committee was investigating. The committee for some strange reason was an even number of people, 10. It was 6 Democrats and 4 Republicans, and when they voted whether or not to continue to be in existence when I was sworn in on January 4, 1977, the vote split 5-5, and the committee shut down.

Two Democrats came over and voted with the Republicans. One of them is still here, JOE MOAKLEY. The other is now a Republican, but he retired or was beaten by DAVID DREIER, Jim Lloyd.

Lloyd and MOAKLEY voted not to shut the committee down. One Republican kind of had earned the right to be contrary, had the Navy Cross the hard way in hand-to-hand combat as a Marine in Korea, Pete McCloskey, left voluntarily in 1988 to run for the Senate seat won by Pete Wilson. He finished ahead of me in that 13-man race, I was fourth, he was second, Barry Goldwater, Jr., was third. But Pete McCloskey voted to should it down with 4 Democrats. One of those Democrats announced their retirement yesterday, PAT SCHROEDER. Another one is over in the Senate, fell in love with the Communists in Hanoi and is still making a case for them, and the other on Republican side, Tenny Guyer is now dead, died while he was chairman of the POW task force. It was this strange split. One Republican went one way, two Democrats came from this side. We shut it down, and we have been left with an agony ever since.

This morning, here we are almost two decades later, 19 years later, and I chaired a committee, subcommittee hearing, my Subcommittee on Military Personnel, taking evidence again on what is called the comprehensive review of all the missing in Vietnam.

Now, we have not resolved the missing from the cold war period, with all of our Ferret air crews around the periphery of the very, very evil empire where they shot down dozens of our planes and captured or killed on the ground or killed in the shutdown over 300 of our air crewmen. I do not think we ever killed a single Soviet pilot in any of their Bear aircraft intelligence-gathering missions or any of their fighters that went astray and crossed the border. We never murdered anybody. They murdered some of our lost

pilots in cold blood and had no compunction in shooting down our intelligence pilots. There were Americans with Russian or Slavic or Ukrainian surnames that were full American citizens that were in camps overrun by the Red army in 1945 that disappeared into the gulag camps never to be heard of again.

Korea is especially painful. In the Hall today in the Rayburn Building, while taking testimony on Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, and about to go in at 2 o'clock to hear the Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, Secretary of Defense, Mr. Perry, and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, the man who came directly after Colin Powell, Shalikashvili, I am out in the hall looking at a prison picture, and I learned from my wife, Sally last night that the cameras cannot cooperate and will not come in for a closeup. But this is a very clear photograph, it must be taken with the very biggest cameras we had in our RB-29's, slant photographic imagery of a major north Korean prison camp called Camp No. 5. It is a huge facility. Across the Yellow River, this is the Yellow River I am looking at and it is much wider than I had ever expected, is a graveyard. In other words, they buried Americans on the Chinese side, and then there is a graveyard in the foreground on this side.

In this camp, like many camps in North Korea, were Americans, called category 1 prisoners, known to be alive and healthy that were never returned from Korea. The major problem with Korea, and it seems that we in the Congress and in the Senate have convinced Clinton not to go into Bosnia under U.N. colors or U.N. flags, Specialist Michael Ngu, whose father I had the pleasure of meeting last Sunday, Daniel Ngu, he is being court-martialed for refusing to wear the U.N. blue beret and blue arm patch on assignment to Macedonia, where we have a blocking action of 494 Americans by last count. But in Bosnia, the troops that Clinton is moving in there as we speak, making a lot of the debate on this floor moot, they will go in under NATO colors, not under U.N. colors.

Here is a haunting, excellent photograph, of very healthy American prisoners in this Korean Camp No. 5. Here is a banner in perfect English letters, "soccer ball champions, No. 5 camp," and I cannot read what it says. It looks like "united by." All of the prisoners are at top military weight, they are all laughing and cheering at some game. The man who gave me this circles one very clear picture that he says is his brother. This was taken in 1953, very close to release. They all have full prison uniforms on with scarfs and T-shirts, and almost everybody in the picture must have been by order, yes, every single person is wearing what I would call a Dutch boy hat or a soft garrison hat without grommets, and they all look healthy.

This brother of a prisoner in this picture told me that not a single man in